





THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTION  
OF KING DARIUS

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# THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTION OF KING DARIUS

TRANSLATION AND CRITICAL NOTES TO THE  
PERSIAN TEXT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
RECENT RE-EXAMINATIONS OF THE ROCK

BY

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN

PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

AF. = Arische Forschungen.

AirWb. = Altiranisches Wörterbuch (Barth. 1904).

AJP. = American Journal of Philology.

Bab. = Babylonian.

Barth. = Bartholomae.

BB. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.

ed. = recent edition or editions.

Elam. = Elamite or New Susian.

GAv. = Gāthā Avesta.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

Jn. = Jackson, who made in 1903 a partial reëxamination of the rock (JAOS., Vols. 24 and 27 = Persia Past and Present).

JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

KT = King and Thompson; The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistūn, British Museum, 1907. KT have newly copied the Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian texts.

KZ. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Middle Pers. = Middle Persian.

New Pers. = New Persian.

PAPA. = Proceedings of the American Philological Association.

WB = Weissbach und Bang; Die altpersischen Keilinschriften.

WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

YAv. = Younger Avesta.

ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

SPECIMEN OF TEXTS.

(Translation Col. iv. 14.)

PERSIAN.

67. θātiy dārayavauš xšāyaθiya tuvam [kā] xšāyaθiya. 68. hya aparam āhy martiya [hya] draujana ahatiy hyavā [zu]rakara ++ ahat-69. iy avaiy mā dauštā + + + ā ufraštādiy parsā

ELAMITE.

82. aiak (m) tari-83. yamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m) ni [(m) zunkuk (m) akka meššin] nekti (m) ruh(id)-irra titukra hupirri aini in kannenti aiak aini (m) akka appan- 84. la-ikkimme buttiš

BABYLONIAN.

105. (m) da-ri-ia]-muš [šarru] ki-a-am i-ḳab-bi man-nu at-ta šarru ša be-la-a ar-ki-ia amēlu ša u-par-ra-šu u amēlu UD-IŠ-A-NI 106. la ta- + + + + + + +



# THE BEHISTAN INSCRIPTION.

## COLUMN I.

1. I (am) Darius, the great<sup>1</sup> king, the king of kings, the king in Persia, the king of countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenide.

2. Says Darius the king: My father (is) Hystaspes, the father of Hystaspes (is) Arsames, the father of Arsames (is) Ariaramnes,<sup>2</sup> the father of Ariaramnes (is Teispes<sup>3</sup>), the father of Teispes (is) Achaemenes.<sup>4</sup>

3. Says Darius the king: Therefore we are called the Achaemenides; from long ago we have extended; from long ago our family have been kings.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>vazarka (New Pers. buzurg). The word is probably thus to be read instead of the common transliteration vazraka (YAv. vazra, New Pers. gurz, Skt. vajra, *Indra's thunderbolt*) of the ed. and KT. Cf. Gr. *Ταννοξάρκης* = Persian, tanu-vazarka, *great in body*. Nöldeke argued against vazraka on the ground that it would give New Pers. \*bazra or \*guzra, not buzurg, but his phonetic objections are not clear to me. Cf. Foy, KZ. 37, 537; Barth. AirWb. 1390, n.

<sup>2</sup>ariyāramna, not ariyārāmna of the ed. Cf. KT, 2.

<sup>3</sup>KT record room for restoration pit[ā caišpiš] on the rock. c<sup>a</sup>iš<sup>a</sup>p<sup>a</sup>i. read cišpi (Elam. zišpiš; Bab. ši-iš-pi-iš] or caišpi (Gr. *Τέτσηης*).

<sup>4</sup>haxāmaniš. For discussion of Achaemenidan dynasty cf. Prášek, Forsch. z. Gesch. d. Altert. 3, 24, vs. the extreme view of Winckler, Oriental. Litt. Ztg, 1898, 43; Weissbach, Assyriol. Bibl. 9, 86; Justi, Grundr. d. iran. Philol. 2, 416; Nöldeke, Aufsätze z. pers. Gesch. 15; Tolman and Stevenson, Hdt. and Empires of the East, 73.

<sup>5</sup>Barth. recognizes here a survival of the adjectival meaning in xšāya[θiyā], i. e., *our family was royal*.

4. Says Darius the king: 8 of my family (there were) who were formerly kings; I am the ninth (9); long aforetime<sup>1</sup> we were (lit. are) kings.

5. Says Darius the king: By the grace of Auramazda I am king; Auramazda gave me the kingdom.

6. Says Darius the king: These are the countries which came to me; by the grace of Auramazda I became king of them;—Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the (lands) which are on the sea,<sup>2</sup> Sparda, Ionia, [Media], Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Ga(n)dara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka; in all (there are) 23 countries.

7. Says Darius the king: These (are) the countries which came to me; by the grace of Auramazda they became subject to me; they bore tribute to me; what was commanded to them by me this was done night and (lit. or) day.

<sup>1</sup>duvitāparanam, Tolman. duvitāparnam, KT. The reading of ed. duvitātaranam with which the critics have operated is thus superseded. \*duvitā, adv. *long*, GAv. daibitā, Skt. dvitā (against Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 3, 1; cf. Foy, *KZ.* 37, 546). The association with \*dūra is probably correct; cf. Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*<sup>3</sup> 251; Hirt, *Ablaut*, 104; Gray, *JAOS*, 23, 63. The second member of the compound I take as paranam, *before, antehac* (cf. *Bh.* 1, 13, *hya paranam bardiyam adānā, who knew Bardiya formerly* rather than *the former Bardiya*). WB's rendering, *in zwei Reihen* (Oppert, *en deux branches*), KT's *in two lines*, not only seems to be at variance with the Elam. šamak-mar, but lacks historical support; cf. Tolman and Stevenson, *Hdt. and Empires of East*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>drayahyā, loc. sg. + postpos. ā; YAv. zrayah (Middle Pers. zray, New Pers. zirih), Skt. jrayas, *an expanse*. Wrongly ed. and KT, darayahyā. Bab. ina mar-ra-ti; Elam. (m) AN-KAM(id)-ip.

8. Says Darius the king: Within these countries what man was watchful,<sup>1</sup> him who should be well esteemed<sup>2</sup> I esteemed; who was an enemy, him who should be well punished<sup>3</sup> I punished; by the grace of Auramazda these countries respected<sup>4</sup> my laws;<sup>5</sup> as it was commanded by me to them, so it was done.

9. Says Darius the king: Auramazda gave me this<sup>6</sup> kingdom; Auramazda bore me aid until I obtained<sup>7</sup> this kingdom; by the grace of Auramazda I hold this kingdom.

10. Says Darius the king: This (is) what (was) done by me after that I became king; Cambyses by

<sup>1</sup>ag<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup> + +, KT, who record space for two characters. The emendation dauštā of ed. is impossible. The Bab. translates by pi-it-ku-du, *watchful*. I would suggest the supplement āgar[tā], nom. ag. of ā+\*gar, *to wake* (YAv. gar, Skt. gr), *a watcher, wakeful, zealous*. For idiom cf. ja<sup>a</sup>tā biyā, (*may Auramazda be (thy) slayer*, i. e. may he slay thee, Bh. 4, 11. I do not think [akka kannāš], *who was friendly*, of Weissbach and KT is the correct supplement for the corresponding Eiam. Should we, however, restore the verb kanne, its form would be kanneš, aor. 3 sg., not kannāš.

<sup>2</sup>ubaratam, part. with gerundive meaning; cf. Whitney, Skt. Gr. 1176, e. ubartam, *well esteemed*, ed., KT.

<sup>3</sup>ufrasatam, cf. ubaratam. ufrastam, *well punished*, ed., KT.

<sup>4</sup>āpariyāya<sup>a</sup> (for ahapariya—, Skt. saparyati; cf. Barth. Studien, 2, 67; Justi, IF. 17, Anz. 106). apariyāya<sup>a</sup>, ed., KT.

<sup>5</sup>tyanā manā dātā, text (confirmed by KT), probably dittography for tyā manā dātā (n. pl.), as pointed out as early as 1847 by Benfey (Pers. Keilinschr., 9), “Fehler des Steinmetz, welcher zuerst auf das gleich folgende manā abirrte.”

<sup>6</sup>auramazdām[aiy] ima; wrongly auramazdā manā, ed.; cf. KT, 6.

<sup>7</sup>ha[ma]dārayai[y], text (cf. KT, 6), mid. pret. 1 sg. This reading supersedes [ad]āry of the ed. and the various attempts at emendation.

name, the son of Cyrus (was) of our family; he<sup>1</sup> was king here; of this Cambyses there was a brother Bardiya (i. e. Smerdis) by name possessing a common mother and the same father with Cambyses; afterwards Cambyses slew that Bardiya; when Cambyses slew Bardiya, it was not known to the people that Bardiya was slain;<sup>2</sup> afterwards Cambyses went to Egypt; when Cambyses went to Egypt, after that the people became hostile; after that there was Deceit to a great extent in the provinces, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces.

11. Says Darius the king: Afterwards there was one man, a Magian, Gaumâta by name; he rose up from Paishiyâuvâdâ; there (is) a mountain Arakad-rish by name; from there—14 days in the month Viyakhna were in course<sup>3</sup> when he rose up; he thus deceived the people; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus

<sup>1</sup>hauv<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>, text, in place of [pa]ruvam of the ed. (cf. KT, 6).

<sup>2</sup>avajata, KT, thus setting aside Bartholomae's conjecture avâjata and confirming Rawlinson's lithograph av<sup>a</sup>,<sub>letter</sub><sup>no</sup> j<sup>a</sup>t<sup>a</sup>. KT's cuneiform text shows no space between v<sup>a</sup> and j<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>viyaxnahya mâh[yâ] xiv raucabiš θakatâ āha<sup>n</sup>. In spite of the view now generally accepted which regards raucabiš (instr. pl.) as subject of the following āha<sup>n</sup>, a use occasional in YAv. (Schmidt, Pluralbld, 98; Jn., Av. Gr. 229; Barth. Grundr. 231, 2; Caland, GGA, 401 for year 1893), I have often felt strongly tempted to return to the old theory of the instrumental of association but construe the case directly with θakatâ (loc. sg.); *it was in course with 14 days when*, etc. Against mâhyâ (loc. sg. + postpos. ā) Gray (AJP. 21, 14) defends the former opinion that it is contracted from mâhahyâ (them. gen. sg.; cf. Skt. māsa), thus avoiding the objection (if it be an objection) of the "appositional" genitive. For the question of the seasons of the Persian months, cf. KT, xxvi; Justi, ZDMG. 51; Oppert, *ibid.* 52; Prášek, *Beiträge z. alt. Gesch.* 1901.

brother of Cambyses; afterwards all the people became estranged from Cambyses (and) went over to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces; he seized the kingdom; 9 days in the month Garmapada were in course—he thus seized the kingdom; afterwards Cambyses died by a self-imposed death.

12. Says Darius the king: This kingdom which Gaumâta the Magian took from Cambyses, this kingdom from long ago was (the possession) of our family; afterwards Gaumâta the Magian took from Cambyses both Persia and Media and the other provinces; he seized<sup>1</sup> (the power) and made it his own possession; he became king.

13. Says Darius the king: There was not a man neither a Persian nor a Median nor any one of our family who could make Gaumâta the Magian deprived of the kingdom; the people feared his tyranny;<sup>2</sup> (they feared<sup>3</sup>) he would slay the many who knew Bardiya

<sup>1</sup> āyasatā (inchoative pres. yasa—, to yam; cf. Barth. BB. 14, 246; Foy, KZ. 35, 33; Gray, AJP. 21, 14). This view, which seems most probable, receives support from the Bab. + + ti a-na ša ra-ma-ni-šu ut-te-ir, *he took it for himself*; Elam. emituša tuman-e, *he seized as his possession*. KT follow the old translation, *he did according to his will*. Here and in all other cases of occurrence they seem not to be acquainted with the extensive literature concerning this word.

<sup>2</sup> kārāšim hacā daršma<sup>n</sup> atarsa; cf. Barth. AirWb. 700. Bang, ZDMG. 43, 534, is wrong in connecting šim (acc. sg.) with hacā, for his parallel hacā pirāva nāma rauta, Dar. Sz. c, is hardly justified. The old interpretation hacā daršama, *exceedingly*, is retained by KT, who remark in their note to the Bab. version, *many people feared him*, that it is possible to regard ma-a-du, *much*, as an adverb.

<sup>3</sup> Barth. is doubtless right in taking the opt. clause as object of atarsa. KT entirely miss the force of the opt. in their translation, (*for*) *he slew many*, etc.

formerly; for this reason he would slay the people; "that they might not know me that I am not Bardiya the son of Cyrus;" any one did not dare to say anything against Gaumâta the Magian until I came; afterwards I asked Auramazda for help;<sup>1</sup> Auramazda bore me aid; 10 days in the month Bâgayâdish were in course—I thus with few men slew that Gaumâta the Magian and what men were his foremost allies; there (is) a stronghold Sikayauvatish by name;<sup>2</sup> there is a province in Media, Nisâya by name; here I smote him; I took the kingdom from him; by the grace of Auramazda I became king; Auramazda gave me the kingdom.

14. Says Darius the king: The kingdom which was taken away from our family, this I put in (its) place; I established it on (its) foundation; as (it was) for-

<sup>1</sup>patiyāvahyaiy (avahya-, denom. to \*avah, Av. avah; cf. Skt. avasya), text as attested by Jn. (JAOS. 27, 190) and KT. This corrected reading removes all possible connection with the root van, Barth. ZDMG. 48, 156; Foy, KZ. 37, 518.

<sup>2</sup>About the form n<sup>a</sup>am<sup>a</sup>, written n<sup>a</sup>am<sup>a</sup>a with a fem. noun, there has grown, as is well known, quite an extensive literature. J. Schmidt (Pluralbildung, 82) regarded it as forming the second member of a bahuvrihi—compound with a fem. formation in —\*ōn. Thumb (KZ. 32, 132) would derive nāmā from \*nōm̄. Foy (KZ. 35, 11) at first recognized a transition to the fem. of a sandhi-form \*nāman < nōm̄n; cf. later IF. 12, 172 and note various theories there cited. Barth. (Grundr. 403, 11) suggested a possible distinction of case nāmā (acc. sg.) and nāmā<sup>n</sup> (loc. sg.), but has later shifted his position, taking both forms as loc. sg. and transcribing nāmā<sup>n</sup> and nāmā<sup>n</sup>. I sometimes wonder if n<sup>a</sup>am<sup>a</sup>a be not simply *scriptio plena* influenced by fem. Cf. gen. sg.—h<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>a < Ar. sja, often written h<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup> when immediately preceding the noun on which it depends.

merly so I made it; the sanctuaries<sup>1</sup> which Gaumâta the Magian destroyed I restored; for the people the revenue (?)<sup>2</sup> and the personal property<sup>3</sup> and the estates<sup>4</sup> and the royal residences<sup>5</sup> which Gaumâta the Magian took from them (I restored); I established the state on (its) foundation, both Persia and Media and the

<sup>1</sup>āyadanā; Elam. <sup>an</sup>ziyan <sup>an</sup>nappanna; Bab. bitāti ša ilāni. These places of worship can hardly be the temples of foreign gods; cf. Tolman, PAPA. 33, 70 against the view of Foy, KZ. 35, 23.

<sup>2</sup>abicariš, thus to be read as Rawlinson first recorded; cf. Jn. JAOS. 24, 85; KT, 13. The reading abācariš with which critics have operated, Spiegel, Darmesteter (Étud. Iran. 2, 130), Justi (IF. 17, Anz. 105) is superseded. Elam. and Bab. give no assistance. Some of the various meanings proposed for the doubtful word are: *Weideplätze* (Spiegel), cf. New Pers. carīdan, *to pasture*; *Hilfsmittel* (WB); *commerce* (Tolman, OP. Insc. 121); *i pascoli* (Rugarli); *en sauveur* (Oppert); *servitium* = *servos* (Gray, AJP. 21, 17); *Weide* (Barth. AirWb. 89); *pasture-lands* (KT).

<sup>3</sup>gaiθām. KT translate both the Pers. and Elam., *herds*. The Bab. word is wanting. Darmesteter, *les fermes*; Rugarli, *le campagne*; WB, *die Herden*; Barth., *fahrende Habe*; Justi (IF. 17, Anz. 108), *Gehöfte*. Cf. Av. gaēθā, *life, subsistence, world*, fr. ji, *to live*. For meaning (as well as etymology) note Gr. βίος, *life, livelihood* (βίος); cf. Heracl. ἐνδεδιωκότα = ἐμβεβιωκότα (ταῦτα δὲ πάντα πεφυτευμένα παρέξόντι καὶ ἐνδεδιωκότα, Tab. Heracl. I, 122); δίαίτα (according to Johansson, KZ. 30, 424; otherwise Thurneysen, IF. Anz. 6, 196).

<sup>4</sup>mānīyam. KT (both Pers. and Elam.), *dwelling places*; Darmesteter, *les maisons*; Rugarli, *le case*; WB, *das Wohnen*; Barth., *liegende Habe*; Gray, *private property* (AJP. 21, 16; cf. YAv. nmāna); Justi (IF. 17, Anz. 108), *Hauskomplexe* (also Plätze wo etwa Gewerbetreibende oder Händler, Repräsentanten der bürgerlichen Untertanen, wohnen). māna, *house* (Justi) + suffix ya.

<sup>5</sup>v<sup>i</sup>θ<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>iš<sup>a</sup>cā, thus to be read; cf. Jn. (JAOS. 24, 84); KT, 14. The late discussions of the word have been based on the reading

other provinces; as (it was) formerly, so I brought back what (had been) taken away; by the grace of Auramazda this I did; I labored that our royal house I might establish in (its) place; as (it was) formerly, so (I made it); I labored by the grace of Auramazda that Gaumâta the Magian might not take away our royal house.

15. Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did, after that I became king.

16. Says Darius the king: When I slew Gaumâta the Magian, afterwards there (was) one man Atrina by name, the son of Upadara(n)ma; he rose up in Susiana; thus he said to the people; I am king in Susiana; afterwards the people of Susiana became rebellious (and) went over to that Atrina; he became king in Susiana; and there (was) one man a Babylonian Nidintu-Bêl by name, the son of Aniri',<sup>1</sup> he rose up in Babylon; thus he deceived the people; I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabû-na'id; afterwards the whole of the Babylonian state went over to that Ni-

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viθaibišcā; cf. Gray (JAOS. 23, 56), who regards the form as instr. pl. for acc. pl., translating, *and all things*; so Barth. AirWb. 1458. Foy's viθabišaca-cā (ZDMG. 54, 349), *geschlechtsgefolgschaft*, or viθbaiša, *peace* (ZDMG. 50, 134), agrees more closely with the reading which we must now adopt. Can we read viθbiš (Av. vīz'bhīš)? If so, we can take the instr. pl. for the acc. pl. according to the well-known Avestan use and translate as above; or as Justi (IF. 17, Anz. 108), *einzelne Häuser* (viθ ist in der Inschrift des Dareios palastes die Bezeichnung dieses Gebäude, nicht des ganzen Schlosses oder der Burg von Persepolis, welche in der susischen Bauurkunde an der südlichen Mauer halvarraš heisst).

<sup>1</sup>ain<sup>a</sup> + + hyā. KT record space for two characters, thus making the familiar supplement. aina[ira]hyā certain. The name is clear in Elam. and Bab. texts.



dintu-Bêl; Babylon became rebellious; the kingdom in Babylon he seized.

17. Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth (my army) to Susiana; this Atrina was led to me bound; I slew him.

18. Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went to Babylon against that Nidintu-Bêl who called himself Nebuchadrezzar; the army of Nidintu-Bêl held the Tigris; there he halted and thereby was a flotilla; afterwards I placed my army on floats of skins;<sup>1</sup> one part I set on camels,<sup>2</sup> for the other I brought horses;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> maškāuvā, text as confirmed by KT, who fail to appreciate the value of their record, since they attempt no translation and even suggest the possibility of taking the obliquely meeting wedges of the cuneiform sign for u as the word-divider, thus giving maškā dava. This reading proves the correctness of Justi's conjecture (IF. 17, Anz. 125; cf. Foy, KZ. 37, 533) as loc. pl. of maškā; cf. Assyr. maš-ku-u, *skin*, Aram. meškā. It is in Persian a loan word (New Pers. mask) and has reference to the manner of crossing the river, which has been in vogue from early times to the present day, i. e. on inflated skins or a raft or bridge supported by such skins. The meaning of the passage is now quite clear and this reading supersedes the various attempted emendations (cf. KZ. 35, 35; AJP. 21, 20; ZDMG. 46, 244). Jackson (JAOS. 24, 85) records that the first part of the word looks more like m<sup>a</sup>y<sup>a</sup>, but later writes in a personal letter to Justi; "Your conjecture is so brilliant that I am almost tempted to doubt my reading, but the y did seem quite certain in my notes, for I examined the word with great care."

<sup>2</sup> ušabārim, text as confirmed by KT; Jn. *borne by oxen* (Av. uxšan, Skt. ukšan). The numerous conjectures, several of which seemed plausible before this confirmation of Oppert's reading, must now be set aside (cf. WZKM. 1, 220; *ibid.* 11, 252; AJP. 21, 20). Bartholomae's ušrabārim, *mounted on camels*, possible on the theory that the stone-cutter failed to write tr, agrees with the sense of the Elam. version; cf. KT, 18.

<sup>3</sup> asam [frā]nayam. This is clearly the reading of the stone.

Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda we crossed the Tigris; there the army of Nidintu-Bêl I smote utterly; 26 days in the month Atriyâdiya were in course—we thus engaged in battle.

19. Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went to Babylon; when I had not reached Babylon<sup>1</sup>—there (is) a town Zâzâna by name along the Euphrates<sup>2</sup>—there this Nidintu-Bêl who called himself Nebuchadrezzar went with his army against me to engage in battle; afterwards we engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda the army of Nidintu-Bêl I smote utterly; the enemy were driven<sup>3</sup> into the water; the water bore them away; 2 days in the month Anâmaka were in course—we thus engaged in battle.

Jn. records; “The reading ašm + + of Spiegel, Kossowicz and Tolman, or tašma[kam] of Fr. Müller, WZKM. 1, 222; 11, 253; and as[pā] of WB, though the latter were on the right track, must be abandoned. The word is simply asam” (JAOS. 24, 86). KT confirm Jackson’s reading. The conclusion of Gray (AJP. 21, 7) as to a double representation by sp and s of Iranian sp is hereby shown to be correct; cf. Horn, Grundr. d. neuopers. Etym. 160, 749. KT state that the prefix fra of the verb is probable from the traces on the rock.

<sup>1</sup> aθiy bābiru[m yaθā naiy up]āyam, KT.

<sup>2</sup> Written on the stone ufrāt<sup>u</sup>vā, KT, 19; probably a stone-cutter’s blunder for ufrāt<sup>u</sup>vā (ufrātauvā), or we have an instance here of anuv with instr. sg.

<sup>3</sup> aniya āpi[y]ā + + + ā, text. The mutilated word is restored as [āhyat]ā (Kern, ZDMG. 23, 239; cf. Foy, KZ. 37, 554; so Rugarli, *il nemico fu gettato nell’ acqua*); Barth. (AF. 1, 61) first suggested ahadatā, but later (AirWh., 279) favors Kern’s reading; WB, [a]ha<sup>n</sup>[jat]ā; Oppert (Le peuple—des Mèdes, 169) [a]ha[rat]ā which is recommended by Gray (AJP. 21, 22), and KT who render the Elam. *I drove them into the river.*

## COLUMN II.

1. Says Darius the king: Afterwards Nidintu-Bêl with (his) few horsemen went to Babylon; afterwards I went to Babylon; by the grace of Auramazda I both seized Babylon and seized that Nidintu-Bêl; afterwards I slew that Nidintu-Bêl at Babylon.

2. Says Darius the king: While I was in Babylon, these (are) the provinces which became estranged from me, Persia, Susiana, Media, Assyria [Egypt], Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia.

3. Says Darius the king: There (was) one man Martiya by name, the son of Cicikhrish—there (is) a town in Persia Kuganakâ by name—here he dwelt; he rose up in Susiana; thus he said to the people; I am Imanish king in Susiana.

4. Says Darius the king: Then I was on the march<sup>1</sup> to Susiana; afterwards the Susians [feared] me; they seized that Martiya who was chief of them and slew him.

5. Says Darius the king: One man Phraortes [by name, a Mede], he rose up in Media; thus he said to the people; [I am Khshathrita] of the family of Cyaxares; afterwards the Median people which [were in the palace] became estranged from me (and) went over to that Phraortes; he became [king] in Media.

6. Says Darius the king: The Persian and the Me-

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<sup>1</sup> adam ašnaiy āham abiy uvajam; KT render, *I was friendly with Susiana*. Barth. (AirWb. 264) regards ašnaiy as loc. sg. to ašna, *march*. Elam. kanna enni git which Weissbach and KT translate, *I was friendly*. The Elam. passage is discussed by Foy (KZ. 35, 37), who favors the interpretation, *auf dem marsche*. The Bab. gives no assistance. Cf. Barth. Grundr., 1, 31; Foy, ZDMG. 52, 567.

dian army, which was by me, it was small;<sup>1</sup> afterwards I sent forth an army; Hydarnes by name, a Persian, my subject, him I made chief of them; thus I said to them; go, smite that Median army which does not call itself mine; afterwards this Hydarnes with the army went away; when he came to Media — there (is) a town in Media Mârush by name—here he engaged in battle with the Medes; he who was the chief among the Medes did not there [withstand];<sup>2</sup> Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my<sup>3</sup> army smote that rebellious army utterly; 27 days in the month Anâmaka were in course—the battle (was) thus fought by them; afterwards my army—there (is) a region Ka(m)pada by name—there awaited me<sup>4</sup> until I went to Media.

7. Says Dârius the king: Dâdarshish by name, an Armenian, my subject, him I sent forth to Armenia; thus I said to him; go, the rebellious army which does not call itself mine, smite it; afterwards Dâdarshish went away; when he came to Armenia, afterwards the rebels came together (and) went against Dâdarshish

<sup>1</sup> kamnam, generally regarded as n. sg., *something small*. For a like use of the neuter we can compare [t]ya ciyakaram a[yā dahy]ā[va], Dar. NRa. 4. Foy (KZ. 35, 38) would read kamnama, regarding the word as a superl. formation. I suggest with some reluctance the reading kamnama (i. e. kamna, nom. sg. in. + ma = maiy), (*the army was small for me*). I am well acquainted with the objections to assuming ma = maiy; cf. apanyākama, Art. Sus. a.

<sup>2</sup> [a]vadā + +, KT, for [a]dā[rayā] of the ed. KT record space for two signs, of which the last appears to be n<sup>a</sup> or h<sup>a</sup>. Can we supply āha, *there he did not abide?*

<sup>3</sup> [hya ma]nā, KT, in place of vidarnahyā of the ed.

<sup>4</sup> inām amāniya yātā, KT, for mām [citā amānaya yātā] of the ed.

to engage in battle; there is a village [Zuzza]<sup>1</sup> by name in Armenia—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 8 days<sup>2</sup> in the month Thuravâhara were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them.

8. Says Darius the king: A second time the rebels came together (and) went against Dâdarshish to engage in battle; there (is) a stronghold, Tigra by name, in Armenia<sup>3</sup>—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda, my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 18 days in the month Thuravâhara were in course—the battle (was) thus fought by them.

9. Says Darius the king: A third time the rebels came together (and) went against Dâdarshish to engage in battle; there (is) a stronghold, U[yam]â<sup>4</sup> by name, in Armenia—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 9 days in the month Thâigarcish were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them; afterwards Dâdarshish awaited me in Armenia<sup>5</sup> until I came to Media.

10. Says Darius the king: Afterwards Vaumisa by name, a Persian, my subject, him I sent forth to Ar-

<sup>1</sup> + + + + y, text; Elam. zuzza; Bab. zu-u-zu.

<sup>2</sup> vi[*ii* raucabi]š, text. Elam. version makes supplement certain.

<sup>3</sup> arminiyaiy, thus to be read in text of col. II., ll. 34, 39, 44, and to be supplied in ll. 48, 63, in place of armaniyaiy of ed.; cf. KT, 29.

<sup>4</sup> u + + + ā, text. Elam. uiyama. There is no authority for u[*hy*]āma of the ed.; cf. KT, 30.

<sup>5</sup> ar[*m*<sup>i</sup>]ni[*ya*]iy, KT.

menia; thus I said to him; go, the rebellious army which does not call itself mine, smite it; afterwards Vaumisa went away; when he came to Armenia, afterwards the rebels came together (and) went against Vaumisa to engage in battle; there (is) a region I[zar]â<sup>1</sup> by name, in Assyria—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 15 days in the month Anâmaka were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them.

11. Says Darius the king: A second time the rebels came together (and) went against Vaumisa to engage in battle; there (is) a region Autiyâra by name in Armenia—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; at the end<sup>2</sup> of the month Thuravâhara—thus the battle (was) fought by them; afterwards Vaumisa awaited me in Armenia until I came to Media.

12. Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went from Babylon; I went away to Media; when I went to Media—there (is) a town Ku(n)durush by name in Media—here this Phraortes who called himself king in Media went with (his) army against me to engage in battle; afterwards we engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda I

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<sup>1</sup>i + + ā. text; i[zar]ā, Tolman, in place of [iz]i[tuš] of the ed. which the Elam izzila (wrongly read before izzitu) makes impossible. KT's i[zat]ā is later corrected.

<sup>2</sup>jiyamanam, thus to be read for iyamanam of ed. and niyamanam (ni + \*yamana fr. yam: Barth. AirWb. 1064); cf. KT 33. Elam. version, at end of the month Turmar; Bab. on thirtieth day of the month Iyyar.

smote the army of Phraortes utterly; 25 days<sup>1</sup> in the month Adukanisha<sup>2</sup> were in course—we thus engaged in battle.

13. Says Darius the king: Afterwards this Phraortes with a few horsemen fled;<sup>3</sup> there is a region Raga by name in Media—along there<sup>4</sup> he went; afterwards I sent forth my army in pursuit;<sup>5</sup> Phraortes was seized<sup>6</sup> (and) led to me; I cut off (his) nose and ears and tongue,<sup>7</sup> and I put out his eyes;<sup>8</sup> he was held bound at my court; all the people saw him; afterwards I put him<sup>9</sup> on a cross at Ecbatana, and what men were his foremost allies, these I threw within a prison at Ecbatana.

<sup>1</sup> xxv raucabiš, KT, in place of xxvi raucabiš of ed.

<sup>2</sup> aduka[ni]šahyā, KT, for adukanaiš of ed.

<sup>3</sup> amuθa, pret. 3 sg.; cf. Hüsing, KZ. 38, 258. So both Elam. and Bab. This interpretation is undoubtedly correct and supercedes the former view of regarding amuθa as an adv. KT either fail to translate the word in the places of its occurrence or retain the old meaning, *thence*.

<sup>4</sup> avaparā, KT, for avadā of the ed.

<sup>5</sup> nipadiy, KT, for tyaipatiy of ed. The word hardly means, *on foot*, as given by KT and the ed. Both Elam. and Bab. versions furnish no warrant for this old interpretation. Barth. (AirWb. 1083) happily compares Lesb. Boeot. πεδ-ά (instr. sg. to ποίς; for stem-grade πεδ—cf. Hirt, IF. 7, 153.) To this I would add, for sake of comparison, the Lat. pedisequus, *following one's steps*.

<sup>6</sup> agarbi[ta], KT, for agarbāyatā of ed.

<sup>7</sup> harbānam, KT. The lacuna should now be removed from the ed. and the various theories concerning supplement are thus superseded.

<sup>8</sup> [učša]m, col. II., 13; [u]čšam, 14. KT, who regard the sign š as quite clear and c as fairly certain, while the first sign appears to be u. Cf. Jn. JAOS, 24, 88.

<sup>9</sup> pasāvašim, KT, for pasāva adam of ed.

14. Says Darius the king: One man, Citra(n)takhma by name, a Sagartian, he became rebellious to me; thus he said to the people; I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares; afterwards I sent forth the Persian and the Median army; Takhmaspâda by name, a Mede, my subject, him I made chief of them; thus I said to them; go, the rebellious army, which does not call itself mine, smite it; afterwards Takhmaspâda went away with the army (and) engaged in battle with Citra(n)takhma; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly and seized Citra(n)takhma (and) brought (him) to me; afterwards I cut off his nose and ears, and put out his eyes; he was held bound at my court; all the people saw him; afterwards I put him on a cross in Arbela.

15. Says Darius the king: This (is) what (was) done by me in Media.

16. Says Darius the king: Parthia and Hyrcania became rebellious to me and declared allegiance to Phraortes; my father Hystaspes, he was [in Parthia]; the people abandoned<sup>1</sup> him (and) became rebellious; afterwards Hystaspes [went with his army] which was loyal; there is a town Vish[pa]uz[â]tish<sup>2</sup> by name [in Parthia]—here he engaged in battle with the Parthians; Auramazda [bore] me [aid]; by the grace of Auramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army

<sup>1</sup> av<sup>h</sup>a[r + +], KT, in place of av[ârada] of ed. KT record traces of r with room for one more sign. The Elam. version makes the meaning plain. I should feel tempted to read avaharja, Skt. avasṛjat (*the people*) cast him off, i. e. cast off allegiance to him, if it were not for the violent action in this root.

<sup>2</sup> viš[pa]uz[â]tiš, KT.



utterly; [22 days<sup>1</sup>] in the month Viyakhna were in course—thus the battle was fought by them.

COLUMN III.

1. Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth the Persian army to Hystaspes from Ragâ; when this army came to Hystaspes, afterwards Hystaspes took<sup>2</sup> that army (and) went away; there (is) a town Patigrabanâ by name in Parthia—here he engaged in battle with the rebels; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army utterly; 1 day in the month Garmapada was in course<sup>3</sup>—thus the battle (was) fought by them.

2. Says Darius the king: Afterwards it became my province; this (is) what (was) done by me in Parthia.

3. Says Darius the king: There (is) a region Margiana by name; it became rebellious<sup>4</sup> to me; one man Frâda, a Margian, him they made chief; afterwards I sent forth Dâdarshish by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Bactria against him; thus I said to him; go, smite that army which does not call itself mine; afterwards Dâdarshish with the army went away (and) engaged in battle with the Margians;<sup>5</sup> Auramazda bore

<sup>1</sup> So Elam. and Bab. versions.

<sup>2</sup> āyasatā; see col. I., 12, note.

<sup>3</sup> Written on the rock θ<sup>a</sup>k<sup>at</sup>m<sup>a</sup>, a stone-cutter's blunder for θakatā; cf. KT 43.

<sup>4</sup> hamiθ<sup>i</sup>yā, text as confirmed by KT in place of hašitiyā of the ed. KT leave no doubt as to the reading which thus removes hašitiyā from the Persian vocabulary.

<sup>5</sup> mārgavaibiš, text as confirmed by KT, in place of mārgayaibiš of the ed., which word is now removed from the Persian vocabulary.

me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 23 days in the month Atriyâdiya<sup>1</sup> were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them.

4. Says Darius the king: Afterwards it became my province; this (is) what (was) done by me in Bactria.

5. Says Darius the king: One man Vahyazdâta by name; there (is) a town Târavâ by name; there (is) a region Yutiyâ by name in Persia—here he dwelt; he was the second<sup>2</sup> to rise against me in Persia; thus he said to the people; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; afterwards the Persian army which (was) in the palace cast aside their loyalty;<sup>3</sup> they became estranged from me (and) went over to that Vahyazdâta; he became king in Persia.

6. Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth the Persian and the Median army which was by me; Artavardiya by name, a Persian, my subject, him I made chief of them; the rest of the Persian army went with me to Media; afterwards Artavardiya with the army went to Persia; when he came to Persia—there (is) a town Rakhâ by name in Persia—here this Vahyazdâta who called himself Bardiya went with (his) army against Artavardiya to engage in battle; afterwards they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote

<sup>1</sup>atriyâdīyahya, KT, for atriyâdīyahyā of the ed.

<sup>2</sup>duvitiyam, ed., KT, a second time. Rather read duvitiyama (i. e. duvitiya, nom. sg. + ma, abl. sg.); cf. Barth. AirWb. 964.

<sup>3</sup>v<sup>1</sup>āpatiy hacā yadāyā fratarta, text as confirmed by KT, thus making impossible Foy's emendation viθiyāpatiy (viθiy + āpatiy) hacā ya[u]dāyā (*kampf*; cf. Skt. yodhana + aya, *gang*) frarixta (part. to ric, *verlassen*); cf. also KZ. 37, 556 (where he later returns to the reading fratarta); ZDMG. 54, 350.

that army of Vahyazdâta utterly; 12 days in the month Thuravâhara were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them.

7. Says Darius the king: Afterwards this Vahyazdâta with few horsemen fled (and) went to Paishiyâuvâdâ; from thence he took an army (and) again went against Artavardiya to engage in battle; there (is) a mountain Parga<sup>1</sup> by name—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda gave me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that army of Vahyazdâta utterly; 5 days<sup>2</sup> in the month Garmapada were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them and they seized that Vahyazdâta and what men were his foremost allies they seized.

8. Says Darius the king: Afterwards—there (is) a town in Persia Uvâdaicaya by name—here, that Vahyazdâta and what men were his foremost allies, them I put on a cross.

9. Says Darius the king: This (is) what (was) done by me in Persia.<sup>3</sup>

10. Says Darius the king: This Vahyazdâta, who called<sup>4</sup> himself Bardiya, he sent forth an army to Arachosia—there (was) Vivâna by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Arachosia—against him (he sent an army) and one man he made chief of them; thus he said to them; go, smite Vivâna and that army which calls itself of Darius the king; afterwards this army, which Vahyazdâta sent forth, went against Vivâna to

<sup>1</sup> parga, in place of paraga of ed. and KT; cf. New Pers. purg.

<sup>2</sup> v raucabiš, KT, in place of vi raucabiš of ed.

<sup>3</sup> This ninth section, which was before omitted, is recorded by KT.

<sup>4</sup> Written on the stone agaur<sup>a</sup>tâ by stone-cutter's blunder for agaubatâ; cf. KT, 51.

engage in battle; there (is) a stronghold Kâpishakânish by name—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 13 days in the month Anâmaka were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them.

11. Says Darius the king: Again the rebels came together (and) went against Vivâna to engage in battle; there (is) a region Ga(n)dutava<sup>1</sup> by name—here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore<sup>2</sup> me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 7 days in the month Viyakhna were in course—thus the battle (was) fought by them.

12. Says Darius the king: Afterwards this man, who was chief of that army which Vahyazdâta sent against Vivâna, he fled<sup>3</sup> with a few horsemen (and) went away—there (is) a stronghold Arshâdâ by name in Arachosia—he went thereby;<sup>4</sup> afterwards Vivâna, with an army went in pursuit of them;<sup>5</sup> here

<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>n</sup>dutava (Elam. kantuma + +), KT. This reading sets aside Justi's theory (ZDMG. 51, 240) connecting the emendation ga<sup>n</sup>dumava with YAv. gantuma, *wheat*, possible on the supposition of a local change of surd to sonant after the nasal. Cf. Foy, KZ. 37, 518.

<sup>2</sup>Written on the stone ar<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup> by stone-cutter's blunder for abara; cf. KT, 54.

<sup>3</sup>am[uθa], KT, in place of maθišta of ed.

<sup>4</sup>avaparâ, text as confirmed by KT, thus setting aside Foy's conjecture avadaparâ.

<sup>5</sup>nipadi[y] t[ya]iy. WB's *auf dem Fusse* and KT's *on foot* is not the idea. See col. II., 13, note. t[ya]iy as confirmed by KT makes impossible Bartholomae's emendation avaiy (Stud. 2, 68). The Persian tya (I. E. tjo), originally a demon. pron. but generally used as a rel., shows here an undoubted example of its historic meaning; cf. Delbrück, Vgl. Syntax, 3, 311.

he seized him and what men were his foremost allies he slew.

13. Says Darius the king: Afterwards the province became mine; this (is) what (was) done by me in Arachosia.

14. Says Darius the king: When I was in Persia and in Media, a second time the Babylonians became estranged from me; one man, Arakha by name, an Armenian son of Haldita, he rose up in Babylon; there (is) a region, Dubâla by name—from here he thus lied to the people;<sup>1</sup> I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabû-na'id; afterwards the Babylonian people became estranged from me (and) went over to that Arakha; he seized Babylon; he became king in Babylon.

15. Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth my army to Babylon; Intaphernes<sup>2</sup> by name, a Persian,<sup>3</sup> my subject, him I made chief of them;<sup>4</sup> thus I said to them; go, smite that Babylonian<sup>5</sup> army which does not call itself mine; afterwards Intaphernes with an army went to Babylon; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda, Intaphernes smote the Babylonians;<sup>6</sup> and [he led them bound to me];<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [k]ārahyā, KT, for udapatatā of ed.

<sup>2</sup> vi<sup>n</sup>dafar[nā]; [v]i<sup>n</sup>da[farn]ā, l. 86; vi<sup>n</sup>da[far]nā, l. 88; text as confirmed by KT, thus removing vi<sup>n</sup>dafar of ed. from the Persian vocabulary.

<sup>3</sup> pā[rsa], KT, in place of māda of ed.

<sup>4</sup> avamšām, KT, for avam of ed.

<sup>5</sup> bābiruvi[ya]m, KT, for bābirauv of ed.

<sup>6</sup> bābiruvi[y]ā aja, KT, in place of bābirum agarbāya of ed.

<sup>7</sup> KT, record space for fourteen or fifteen signs. The supplement utā [bastā anaya] or [anaya abiy mām], *he brought them*

22 days in the month + + + <sup>1</sup> were in course—that Arakha, who called himself Nebuchadrezzar, and the men who [were his foremost allies they seized and bound];<sup>2</sup> [this Arakha] and what men were his foremost allies were put on crosses at Babylon.<sup>3</sup>

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COLUMN IV.

1. Says Darius the king: This (is) what was done by me in Babylon.

2. Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Auramazda it was (done) in every way; after that I became king, I engaged in 19 battles; by the grace of Auramazda I waged them<sup>4</sup> and I seized 9

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(bound) to me, I would suggest as in full accord with the Elam. and Bab. versions; cf. *anaya abiy mā[m]* in Persian text of col. v., l. 12, and [ba]sta [anayatā a]biy mām, l. 26. Either supplement would still leave space for the Persian name of the month.

<sup>1</sup>The Elam. version gives the month Markazanash.

<sup>2</sup>Supplied from Elam. version.

<sup>3</sup>Both the Elam. and Bab. versions point to an imperative, *I decreed, saying, let them*, etc., although there may not be an exact correspondence here. KT confirm the old reading *asariyatā* as the last word in the text. I would adopt the reading *akariya<sup>n</sup>tā* (Barth.), which may seem almost presumptuous against so excellent authority as KT, who have had years of experience in the copying of tablets. I do this the more boldly because of the slight differentiation of s and k which involves, of course, simply the middle horizontal wedge in the cuneiform sign for s, and because Jackson in his reëxamination of the rock regards k as quite certain; cf. JAOS. 24, 89. Whatever reading we accept, there is no evidence for a final m in the word as given in the ed.

<sup>4</sup>*adamšim*, KT, in place of *adamšām* of ed. KT wrongly translate, *I overthrew nine kings*. —šim is used as acc. pl. n. referring to *hamaranā*.

kings; there was one, Gaumâta by name, a Magian; he lied; thus he said; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious; there (was) one, Atrina by name, a Susian; he lied; thus he said; I am king in Susiana; he made Susiana rebellious to me; there (was) one, Nidintu-Bêl by name, a Babylonian; he lied; thus he said; I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabû-na'id; he made Babylon rebellious; there (was) one, Martiya by name, a Persian; he lied; thus he said; I am Imanish, king in Susiana; he made Susiana rebellious; there (was) one Phraortes by name, a Mede; he lied; thus he said; I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares; he made Media rebellious; there (was) one Citra(n)takhma by name, in Sagartia; he lied; thus he said; I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares; he made Sagartia rebellious; there (was) one Frâda by name, a Margian; he lied; thus he said; I am king in Margiana; he made Margiana rebellious; there (was) one, Vahyazdâta by name, a Persian; he lied; thus he said; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious; there (was) one, Arakha by name, an Armenian; he lied; thus he said; I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabû-na'id; he made Babylon rebellious.

3. Says Darius the king: These 9 kings I seized within these battles.

4. Says Darius the king: These (are) the provinces which became rebellious; the Lie<sup>1</sup> made them rebel-

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<sup>1</sup> drauga di[š hamiθ'iy]ā akunauš, wrongly translated by KT *lies made them revolt*. drauga is certainly a personification of Deceit which found, as we should expect, no correspondence in Babylonian thought. How strikingly is this seen in the contrast between drauga dahyauvā vasiy abava, *the Lie dominated*

lions so that these deceived the people; afterwards Auramazda gave them into my hand; as was my will so [I did] unto them.

5. Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt<sup>1</sup> be king in the future, protect thyself strongly from Deceit; whatever man shall be a deceiver, him who deserves to be punished,<sup>2</sup> punish, if thus thou shalt think "may my country be secure."

6. Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Auramazda I did (it) in every way; O thou who shalt examine this inscription in the future, let it convince thee (as to) what (was) done by me; regard it not as lies.<sup>3</sup>

7. Says Darius the king: I appeal to Auramazda<sup>4</sup>

*the provinces*, col. 1., 10, and the lame Bab. version par-sa-a-tu ina mātāti lu ma-du i-mi-du, *in the land lies became numerous*; cf. Tolman, PAPA. 33, 69; Wilhelm, ZDMG. 40, 105; Bang. ibid. 43, 533; Foy, KZ. 35, 69; Horn, Beilage z. Allg. Ztg. 1895; Jackson-Gray, JAOS. 21, 170; Jn., Grundr. d. iran, Philol., II, 630.

<sup>1</sup>āhy; wrongly KT, Jn. (JAOS. 24, 94), and ed. transcribe ahy. The subjunctive (āhy for a<sup>h</sup>ahiy) is certain, as seen in such a phrase as tuvam kā hya aparam imam dipi[m] patiparsāhy, *thou whosoever shalt hereafter read this inscription*.

<sup>2</sup>Written here ufrašatam; cf. KT. 66.

<sup>3</sup>[drauj]iyāhy (denom. pres. to drauga, *the Lie*; cf. Rawlinson, JRAS. 12; Barth., Grundr. 152) is here to be read instead of [duruxtam man]iyāhy of WB. KT read [duruj]iyāhy, but the context as well as the Elam. version shows a meaning impossible for this verb.

<sup>4</sup>auramazd<sup>a</sup> + + + + rtaiyiya, text as confirmed by KT, who record space for four or five letters in the lacuna, but attempt no supplement. I regard + + + + rtaiyiya as dittography (cf. tyanā manā, col. 1., 8, note) for + + + + rtaiy and suggest the reading auramazd[ām upāva]rtaiy, *I turn unto* (i. e. *appeal to*) *Auramazda*. For this meaning of upa + ā + vart in Skt., cf.



that this (is) true (and) not false (which) I did in every way.

8. Says Darius the king: By the grace of Auramazda much else (was) done by me<sup>1</sup> that (is) not written<sup>2</sup> on this inscription; for this reason it (is) not written lest whoever shall examine this inscription in the future, to him what has been done by me should seem too much;<sup>3</sup> and it should not convince him<sup>4</sup> but he should think (it) false.

9. Says Darius the king: Who were the former

MBh. 5, 1679, and examples quoted in PWb. The clear record of d<sup>a</sup> makes impossible the supplement auramazdiya of WB, which otherwise might receive some support from the Elam. ankirir <sup>an</sup>uramašta-ra sap appa, *I state as a follower of Auramazda*. KT's + + + + rtaiyiya supersedes the many former discussions of the passage (e. g. Foy, KZ. 35, 44; *ibid.* 37, 539; ZDMG. 52, 565; Gray, JAOS. 23, 61; Fr. Müller, WZKM. 1, 59).

<sup>1</sup>[ap]imaiy aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartam, KT, thus setting aside Gray's emendation avā (abl. sg.) aniyašciy, *else than this*.

<sup>2</sup>nipištam. The primitive meaning of the root piš (I. E. peṣk) seems to be *cut, trim* rather than *farbig machen* which Barth. gives. A survival of this signification we see in such a passage as RV. 1, 161, 10, mānsam ekaḥ piṇṇati, *the one cuts the meat*; in Old Slav. piša, pisati, *to scratch in, write*; in Gr. ποικίλος, as applied to work in metal, stone, and wood, and πικρός (nil grade), *cutting, sharp, stinging*. The transfer to the familiar *adorn* (Middle Pers. pēsīt, *ornamented*) which is the meaning of the root in YAv. is, of course, natural and seen in many of the cognates; e. g. Skt. piç, *to ornament*, Goth. filu-faiha translating πολυποικίλος of Ephes. 3, 10. Cf. Tolman, PAPA. 37, 33.

<sup>3</sup>avahyā paruv θā[dutiy], KT, who give traces of the sign d<sup>a</sup>. Jn. (JAOS. 24, 89), however, is certain of the presence of d<sup>a</sup>, which would justify Bartholomae's θadayā (pres. subj. 3 sg.).

<sup>4</sup>naiš + + im varnavātaiy, KT.

kings, while they lived, by these nothing (was) thus<sup>1</sup> done as (was) done by me through the grace of Auramazda in every way.

10. Says Darius the king: Now<sup>2</sup> let it convince thee (as to) what (was) done by me; thus + + +<sup>3</sup> do not conceal this record; if thou shalt not conceal this record (but) tell (it) to the people, may Auramazda be a friend to thee and may there be unto thee a family abundantly and mayest thou live long.

11. Says Darius the king: If thou shalt conceal this record (and) not tell (it) to the people, may Auramazda be a smiter unto thee and may there not be unto thee a family.

12. Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did in every way; by the grace of Auramazda I did (it); Auramazda bore me aid and the other gods which are.

13. Says Darius the king: For this reason Auramazda bore me aid and the other<sup>4</sup> gods which are, because I was not an enemy, I was not a deceiver, I was not a wrong-doer, neither I nor my family; according to rectitude<sup>5</sup> [I ruled<sup>6</sup>] nor made I my power (?) an

<sup>1</sup> avā, KT. I would take this word as correlative to yaθā.

<sup>2</sup> nuram, KT, Jn., with no lacuna before the word.

<sup>3</sup> sa + + + d + + + ādiy, KT.

<sup>4</sup> aniyāha bagāha, KT, for aniyā bagāha of ed.

<sup>5</sup> ārštām, Jn. (JAOS. 24, 91), and KT, thus confirming Foy's conjecture (KZ. 35, 45). Foy's further reading, āpariyāyam (cf. Barth. AirWb. 1765; Skt. saparyati), *ich verkehrte die aufrichtigkeit*, is impossible as Jn. and KT record the presence of the second upariy on the stone. The emended text has an important bearing on the religion of the Achaemenidan kings: cf. Jn., JAOS, 21, 169; Foy, ZDMG, 54, 341; Wilhelm, *ibid.*, 40, 105; Tolman, PAPA, 33, 67.

<sup>6</sup> upariy + + + + + naiy, KT. Jn. records: "It looks like a long word ending in h<sup>a</sup>iy or j<sup>a</sup>iy." The obliquely-meeting

oppression to [those who praise me]<sup>1</sup>; the man (who) helped my house, him who should be well esteemed, I esteemed; (the man) who would destroy it, him who should deserve punishment, I punished.

14. Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt be king in the future, whatever man shall be a deceiver or a wrong-doer<sup>2</sup> (be) not a friend to these;<sup>3</sup> punish (them) with severe punishment.<sup>4</sup>

15. Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt see this

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wedges initial in the cuneiform sign for h, which alone differentiate it from that for n, may of course be in the preceding lacuna. If space allows, I would suggest the supplement upariy[axšaya]naiy and translate as above; cf. Elam. šutur ukku hupa git, *I ruled in accordance with the ordinances*; Bab. ina di-na-a-tu a-si-ig-gu, *in accordance with the laws I governed*. Does this supplement answer in any way to the lithograph of Rawlinson, who on the weathered surface of the rock may have confounded the signs for y<sup>a</sup>iy<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup> with those for y<sup>a</sup> + + t<sup>h</sup>a?

<sup>1</sup>[mām s]t[u]nuvatam, a supplement suggested by KT. Jn. (JAOS. 24, 93) records that the first two letters are apparently m<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup> and proposes m<sup>a</sup>n<sup>a</sup>uv<sup>a</sup>t<sup>a</sup>m<sup>a</sup>. Foy (KZ. 37, 557) suggested [ai]nauva<sup>a</sup>tam, (formerly, KZ. 35, 45, duškaram); Barth. (IF. 12, 130) duruvatam.

<sup>2</sup>[zu]rakara, KT, in place of [a]tar[tā] (Müller) of WB., thus confirming Foy's conjecture (KZ. 35, 46) and superseding the various attempts at emendation (e. g. stavaka, Justi; startā, Barth.).

<sup>3</sup>avaiy mā dauštā + + ā, KT. I would supply [biy]ā (opt. 2 sg.), cf. θuvām dauštā biyā in Persian text of l. 55, thus setting aside the view of Barth. (AF. 2, 30) that dauštā is here an s-aor. mid. 2 sg. of a root \*dauš. KT wrongly translate, (*whosoever*) *shall not be friendly*. The Elam. word corresponding here to the Persian is kannenti, fut. 2 sg., while the same verb (kanešne, prec. 3 sg.) renders the Persian dauštā biyā in III. ll. 55, 75, 86.

<sup>4</sup>ufraštādiy, KT, in place of ahifraštādiy of ed. KT wrongly translate, *him do thou destroy*.

inscription in the future which I have written or these sculptures, thou shalt not destroy<sup>1</sup> (them) as long as thou shalt live;<sup>2</sup> thus thou shalt guard them.<sup>3</sup>

16. Says Darius the king: If thou shalt see this inscription or these sculptures (and) shalt not destroy them and shalt guard them as long as thy<sup>4</sup> family<sup>5</sup> shall be, may Auramazda be a friend to thee and may there be unto thee a family abundantly and mayest thou live long and whatever thou shalt do, this for thee (let) Auramazda make [successful].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> visanāhy, KT, who confirm this old reading. Here and in the Persian text of ll. 73, 77, I am inclined to follow Jn. (vikanāhy) who records the k as "fairly clear." There comes up again the question as to the absence of a medial wedge in the cuneiform sign.

<sup>2</sup> d<sup>a</sup>(?)t<sup>a</sup>s<sup>a</sup>(?) ahy, KT. Can we read āmāta āhy, (*as long as thy life extends?*)

<sup>3</sup> avaθāštā par[iba]rā, KT. The reading paribarā in place of parikarā of ed. is attested by the Persian text of ll. 74, 78, thus setting aside Bartholomae's connection with \*kar, *to bestir oneself*, Av. kar, Skt. car.

<sup>4</sup> utātaiy, KT, for utāmai of ed.

<sup>5</sup> Here and in the following section Barth. renders taumā, by *power* (i. e. *as long as will be possible*) connecting the word with the root \*tu, *to be strong*, Av. tu. Cf. Foy. KZ. 35, 47; WZKM. 24, 288; Bar g. ZDMG. 43, 533; Reichelt, KZ. 39, 74. The Elam. translates the word by patta which Foy interprets *possibility*.

<sup>6</sup> + + + + m, KT. The traces of the signs show <sup>1</sup>either word-divider (written on the rock by obliquely-meeting wedges, not by a single oblique wedge) or initial u, <sup>2</sup>k? (if second horizontal wedge be lower), <sup>3</sup>r. In AJP, 29, under date of Feb., 1908, I suggested the supplement [ukarta]m, (*may Auramazda make it well done*). This is certainly the sense of the Elam., aiak kutta appa hutanti huhpe <sup>an</sup>uramašta azzašne, *and whatsoever thou doest, this may Auramazda cause to succeed*. vazarkam is also possible, but the traces of the characters do not allow WB's mazānam nor Bartholomae's maθitam (YAv. masita).

17. Says Darius the king: If thou shalt see this inscription or these sculptures (and) shalt destroy them and shalt not guard them as long as thy family shall be, may Auramazda be a smiter unto thee and may there not be unto thee a family and whatever thou shalt do, this let Auramazda destroy for thee.

18. Says Darius the king: These (are) the men who were there then when I slew Gaumâta the Magian, who called himself Bardiya; then these men coöperated as my allies; Intaphernes by name, the son of Vayaspâra, a Persian; Otanes by name, the son of Thukhra, a Persian; Gobryas by name, the son of Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes by name, the son of Bagâbigna, a Persian; Megabyzus by name, the son of Dâduhya, a Persian; Ardumanish by name, the son of Vahauka, a Persian.

19. Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt be king in the future, preserve + + + + +

20. Says Darius the king: By the grace of Auramazda this inscription + + + + which I made + + + + + + + + I have written; this inscription + + + me afterwards the inscription + + + + + within the provinces + + + + + + + +

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COLUMN V.

1. Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did + + + [when I became] king; (there is) a province Susiana<sup>1</sup> [by name]; this became estranged from me; [one man] + + + mamita by name, a Susian, him they made chief; afterwards I sent forth (my) army to Susiana; [one

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<sup>1</sup>[u]vaja [nâma], KT, thus confirming Foy's conjecture (KZ. 35, 48), in place of + + vajanam of ed.

man] Gobryas by name, [a Persian] my subject, [him] I made chief [of them]; afterwards this Gobryas with an army went to Susiana; he engaged in [battle] with the Susians;<sup>1</sup> afterwards Gobryas smote + + + and annihilated them (?)<sup>2</sup> and seized [that + + + mamita] their chief and brought him to me and I slew him; afterwards the province [became mine].

2. Says Darius the king: Then the Susians [feared] and Auramazda gave them [into my hand]; I offered thanks;<sup>3</sup> by the grace of Auramazda, as was my will, thus I did unto them.

3. Says Darius the king: Whoever shall worship<sup>4</sup> Auramazda, as long as [his family] shall be, and life + + + + +

4. Says Darius the king: With (my) army I went to Scythia; unto Scythia + + + the Tigris + + + + + + + + + unto the sea<sup>5</sup> + + + I crossed in rafts(?);<sup>6</sup> the Scythians I smote; one part I seized [and they were brought] bound to me and [I slew] them; + + + Sku-

<sup>1</sup> uvajiyaibiš, KT, for hamiθ'riyaibiš of ed.

<sup>2</sup> utā daiy marda, KT, in place of utāšaiy marda. One feels strongly tempted to emend utā šiš amarda; cf. Foy, KZ, 35, 46.

<sup>3</sup> ayadaiy, KT, who attempt no interpretation of the word. I regard it as quite likely the root yad, *to worship* (Av. yaz, Middle Pers. yaštan, Skt. yaj) which I would also supply in the lacuna of the text of l. 19 and which clearly occurs in l. 34.

<sup>4</sup> y<sup>a</sup> + + + +, KT. I would read without question, ya[dātaiy, mid. subj. 3 sg.]; cf. note above.

<sup>5</sup> abiy draya, text as confirmed by KT (who with WB wrongly transcribe throughout the inscription daraya-), in place of drayam of ed., thus setting aside the theory that the word is here a transfer to the a-declension.

<sup>6</sup> pisā, KT, ed. According to Justi (IF. 17, Anz. 126) the word is instr. sg. (in collective sense) of pisa, *raft*, from piš, *to cut*; cf. Foy, KZ, 37, 529.

(n)kha<sup>1</sup> by name, him I seized + + + + there another I made chief + + + there was + + + by name; afterwards the province became mine.

5. Says Darius the king: + + + + + not Auramazda + + + + by the grace of Auramazda, as was my [will, thus] I did unto them.

6. Says Darius the king: Unto Auramazda he shall give worship<sup>2</sup> + + + + +

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<sup>1</sup>s + + xa, KT, whose note (later corrected) that the name cannot be restored is based on their wrong transliteration of the word in Bh. k.

<sup>2</sup>yadātai[y], KT, who attempt no interpretation, yet the reading clearly confirms Bartholomae's conjecture (Foy, yadātiy).

THE SMALLER INSCRIPTIONS OF BEHISTAN.

A.

*Over the figure of Darius.*

I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of the countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenide. Says Darius the king: My father (is) Hystaspes, the father of Hystaspes (is) Arsames, the father of Arsames (is) Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes (is) Teispes, the father of Teispes (is) Achaemenes. Says Darius the king: Therefore we are called Achaemenides; from long ago we have extended; from long ago our family have been kings. Says Darius the king: 8 of my family (there were) who were formerly kings; I am the ninth (9); long aforetime we are kings.

B.

*Under the prostrate form.*

This Gaumâta the Magian lied; thus he said: I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus; I am king.

C.

*Over the first standing figure.*

This Atrina lied; thus he said: I am king in Susiana.

D.

*Over the second standing figure.*

This Nidintu-Bêl lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabû-na'id; I am king in Babylon.

E.

*Upon the garment of the third standing figure.*

This Phraortes lied; thus he said: I am Khshathrita of the family of Cyaxares; I am king in Media.



F.

*Over the fourth standing figure.*

This Martiya lied; thus he said: I am Imanish, king in Susiana.

G.

*Over the fifth standing figure.*

This Citra(n)takhma lied; thus he said: I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares.

H.

*Over the sixth standing figure.*

This Vahyazdâta lied; thus he said: I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus; I am king.

I.

*Over the seventh standing figure.*

This Arakha lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabû-na'id; I am king in Babylon.

J.

*Over the eighth standing figure.*

This Frâda lied; thus he said; I am king in Margiana.

K.

*Over the ninth standing figure.*

This (is) Sku(n)kha, the Scythian.

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